KIM IL SUNG

FOR THE COMPLETE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM

PYONGYANG, KOREA
1987

WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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Comrade Deputies,

Today our revolution is pressing along the road of building socialism and communism under the banner of the Republic. As our revolution advances victoriously, all the people's support for and trust in the Government of the Republic are increasing with every passing day, and our Republic is growing stronger.

Thanks to the high degree of political awareness and great revolutionary enthusiasm of all the people including the working class, the elections to the Eighth Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK were held successfully, and a new Government of the Republic was organized. As a result, our people's government has been further strengthened, and the political and ideological unity of our people who are rallied closely behind our Party and the Government of the Republic has become as solid as rock.

The new Government of the Republic will do all its work so as to fulfil the people's high trust and expectations, and will continue to fight vigorously for the happiness of our people, for the prosperity and development of the country and for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism.

The Government of our Republic is truly a people's government and a Juche-oriented revolutionary government which champions the people's freedom and rights and fights to accomplish the revolutionary cause of Juche.

The fighting tasks now facing this government in carrying out the revolutionary cause of Juche are to achieve the complete victory of socialism in the northern half of the Republic and to reunify the country independently and peacefully.

The Government of the Republic must carry out its honourable revolutionary tasks with credit by accelerating the revolutionary struggle and construction more vigorously under the banner of the Juche idea.

1

Comrades,

The cause of building socialism and communism is sacred and will provide the masses of the people with complete Chajusong.

It is the age-long desire and the highest ideal of the people to achieve complete Chajusong. If they are to realize their cherished desire and ideal, the people must transform the exploiting system of the old society in a revolutionary manner, and advance along the road of socialism to the end until they consummate the cause of building socialism and communism.

The road to socialism and communism is a historical course that covers many stages of revolutionary development.

It takes a long time for the working class to build a communist society after seizing the political power and taking the path of socialism. In this process the working class must carry out the revolutionary tasks in many stages, the tasks which arise in sequence.

As early as the initial period of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, the Korean communists put forward their

fighting programme of liberating the nation and then building socialism and communism in their liberated country. They have been fighting tirelessly to carry out the programme.

After liberating the country, we destroyed the ruling colonial machinery of the Japanese imperialists without delay and established the people's government. On the strength of this government we carried out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution thoroughly and thus established the people's democratic system in the north. The social change which was effected by the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution, enabled our Party to strengthen and develop the people's government into a socialist government of proletarian dictatorship as required by the developing revolution. This was a turning point in the history of our country's advance to socialism, and this was when our people began to perform the tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The cause of building socialism which begins with the establishment of the socialist government emerges victorious and is consummated through the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This is a period when a fierce class struggle takes place between socialism and capitalism, and a period of historic changes when socialist society is completed through the transformation of man, society and nature in accordance with the aspirations and desire of the working class. The historic tasks of the transition period are to win a complete victory over capitalism in all spheres of social life and bring about a classless society by eliminating all class antagonisms and class distinctions. If they are to complete the transition to socialism, the masses of the people who have come to power must carry out these historic tasks of the transition period.

The first task to be carried out in this period of transition is to destroy the exploiting system and establish the socialist system by reorganizing outdated production relations along socialist lines. In view of the specific situation in our country where the democratic revolution triumphed, our Party and the people's government formulated an original line of socialist revolution, carried it out successfully and established an advanced socialist system in the northern half of the Republic. The victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the socialist system were great historical events which brought about a radical change in the social position and role of our people.

After the success in the socialist revolution, our Party and the Government of the Republic set the strategic target of achieving the complete victory of socialism during the transition period and have pressed ahead with the building of socialism.

Winning the complete victory of socialism is a requirement of the law of building socialism and communism. It is a historic task that must be carried out during this period of transition.

Although the establishment of the socialist system is a historical turning point in the course of social development from capitalism to socialism, it does not mean the complete victory of socialism, nor does it imply a complete transition to socialism.

Even after the establishment of the socialist system, the society retains a great deal of ideological, technical and cultural backwardness left over from the old society. Because of this there are differences between towns and rural communities, between the industrial working class and the peasantry and various other differences; the material and tech-

nical foundations of the society are weak in comparison with the advanced social system; and the working people's material and cultural standards are not as high as they should be. When the socialist system is established, the exploiting classes cease to exist in the society, but the corroding actions of their outdated ideas continue, and so do the ideological, cultural infiltration and destructive and subversive manoeuvres of hostile outside forces which are opposed to the socialist system. A society where the socialist system has been set up but socialist construction has not been completed and where the exploiting system has been destroyed but where the danger still remains of capitalism being restored, cannot be called a completely victorious socialist society.

A completely victorious socialist society is a consummated socialist society the whole of which has been working-classized and in which all the people, as equal masters of the state and society, lead an independent and creative life. The completely victorious socialist society is a classless society, a developed society where all its members are provided with complete social and political equality and with decent material and cultural lives. It is a society which, from the point of view of social progress, coincides with the end of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, and in which the lower stage of communism becomes a complete reality and the gradual transition to the higher stage of communism gets under way.

The complete victory of socialism is another epoch-making event in the people's struggle for Chajusong; it is an important milestone in the course of building socialism and communism.

Of course, the complete victory of socialism does not

mean changing to the higher stage of communism all at once. When socialism is completely triumphant, the class distinctions will disappear, but the differences between mental and physical labour and some distinctions in material standards will continue to remain, and the productive forces of society will not reach such a high level as to permit distribution according to need. In order to overcome the transitional character of a socialist society completely and move on to the higher stage of communism, it is necessary to go through a historical stage where the completely triumphant socialist society is consolidated and developed until communism has been built completely. The law of building socialism and communism is to win the complete victory of socialism through the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and to reach the higher stage of communism through a complete socialist society.

The achievement of the complete victory of socialism is now a real requirement of socialist construction in our country.

Nearly 30 years have passed since our people began to perform the tasks for the complete victory of socialism on a full scale after the triumph of the socialist revolution. During this period our people have made big strides in their struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

Guided by the correct policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic for socialist construction and under their correct leadership, our country successfully carried out the task of socialist industrialization over a short period of history, and laid solid foundations for an independent national economy. These material and technical foundations of the socialist independent national economy have been strengthened and its structure further improved

through the fulfilment of a number of plans for the development of the national economy.

In recent years our people carried out the Second Seven-Year Plan successfully. As a result, all sectors of the national economy have been solidly equipped with modern techniques, and the nation's economic power has further increased.

We have also achieved great success in the transformation of man by pressing ahead with the ideological and cultural revolutions.

The remnants of the backward, outdated ideas and culture handed down through history are very small elements now in our society. The people are developing fully in the communist way, acquiring the advanced ideology of the working class and attaining high technical and cultural standards. This quality of the people who are the masters of society shows the high level of development of our society as well as the maturity of the basic conditions for the complete victory of socialism in our country.

The socialist system in our country has become further consolidated and developed on the basis of the brilliant successes in socialist economic construction and in the transformation of human beings.

Ours is the best social system which provides all the people with genuine political freedom, democratic rights and material and cultural well-being. In our country all the people are united in mind and purpose solidly behind our Party and the Government of the Republic, and the whole society has been imbued with the collectivist way of life, with the spirit to help and lead each other forward. The Party and the people, in solid unity and cohesion, constitute the mighty, Juche-oriented force of the revolution, and all the people place their unreserved trust in the Party and the

Government. This is a sure guarantee for the durability of our socialist system and the decisive factor for the victory of the cause of socialism and communism in our country.

All these successes in the struggle for the transformation of man, society and nature show that we are near to the line which marks the complete victory of socialism.

Indeed, the Korean revolution pioneered by us communists has advanced a long way under the correct leadership of our Party and the Government of our Republic. But we still have to do more work in all fields of human, social and nature transformations if we are to win the complete victory of socialism. We must struggle more vigorously in order to win the complete victory of socialism in keeping with the mature requirement of our developing revolution and with our people's revolutionary aspirations.

2

Comrades,

The fundamental question in winning the complete victory of socialism is to transform people and social relations on the pattern of the working class so as to eliminate class differences and establish a classless society.

A socialist society is, in its proper sense, the society of the working class. A full-fledged, complete socialist society is a society in which all spheres have been working-classized, in other words, a classless society in which everyone has been working-classized and all social relations have been reformed on a working-class pattern.

Eliminating class antagonisms and class distinctions and abolishing classes themselves is the basic condition which will provide the masses with Chajusong. The emergence of classes caused domination and subjugation between people and, accordingly, the struggle for Chajusong meant the fight for class liberation. In previous historical periods, however, no class ever raised the slogan for the abolition of classes except the working class which alone put up this slogan and has struggled to build a classless society ever since its appearance on the scene of history. The abolition of classes and the building of a classless society is the historic task which the working class itself put forward; this is the important goal of building socialism and communism.

The socialist revolution marks an important turning point in the struggle of the working class to abolish classes. The liquidation of the exploiting classes by the socialist revolution results in the elimination of class antagonisms which are the root cause of all social miseries, and in a socialist society the only classes which remain are those of the workers and the cooperative farmers. Therefore, the abolition of classes in a socialist society boils down to the question of eliminating the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry by solving the rural question; only when this question is solved can the historic task of abolishing the classes be finally carried out, and a classless society be established.

Because of the class distinctions between workers and farmers there exist a number of distinctions in the social life as well as some non-working-class social relations in a socialist society. For this reason, the elimination of these class differences is the central task of social transformation in the period after the socialist system has been established.

In order to eliminate the class differences between workers and farmers, it is imperative to turn cooperative property into all-people property and establish an undivided sway of the all-people ownership of the means of production.

The ownership of the means of production is the basic factor in defining classes. The two classes—the working class and the farmers—exist in a socialist society because there are two forms of socialist ownership—all-people property and cooperative property. It is only when the means of production are brought under undivided ownership by all the people through the transformation of cooperative property into all-people property that the farmers are working-classized and the class differences between workers and farmers disappear.

The conversion of cooperative property into all-people property is a requirement of the law of the development of a socialist society.

A socialist society is a society based on collectivism, and both cooperative property and all-people property are socialist property which constitutes the economic foundation of our society. Collectivism requires that all social relations including ownership should develop steadily in conformity with the communal interests and requirements of the whole of society. Cooperative property, a lower form of socialist ownership, must develop towards the higher standard of its socialization and ultimately into all-people property which is a higher form of socialist ownership. When cooperative property is transformed into all-people property so that all working people are embraced by a single economy under the ownership of all the people, the communist principle of "One for all and all for one" can be applied satisfactorily.

We must consolidate and develop cooperative property

into all-people property in line with the lawful requirement of the development of a socialist society.

Cooperative property exists side by side with all-people property in a socialist society because the farmers' standards of ideology, technology and culture are lower than those of the working class and because the material and technical foundations of agriculture are weaker than those of industry. So the basic way to convert cooperative property into all-people property is to eliminate the ideological, technological and cultural backwardness of the rural communities.

If we are to put an end to this backwardness and make cooperative property all-people property, we must carry out the theses on the socialist rural question published by our Party.

The theses are the action programme of our Party to solve the rural question finally and win the complete victory of socialism by consolidating and developing cooperative property and changing it into all-people property.

In accordance with the principle laid down in the theses, we must first accelerate the ideological and cultural revolutions energetically in country areas and raise the farmers' level of ideology, technology and culture quickly.

The ideology of the working people has a very important effect on the development of ownership. We must intensify the ideological education and organizational life of our farmers and harden them steadily through communal labour and collective activities so that they will hold the interests of the society and state dearer than individual interests and work honestly for society and the collective and for the country and the people, with a high degree of awareness of being masters of the revolution and construction.

A modern, developing agriculture requires a radical

improvement of the farmers' technical and cultural standards. We must train the new generation to be dependable builders of socialist rural communities as required by the developing realities and, at the same time, improve adult education and dissemination of scientific and technological knowledge in country areas so that every farmer can handle modern farm machinery skilfully and attain high standards of knowledge and skills for scientific and technological farming.

We must also press ahead with the technical revolution in rural areas and industrialize agriculture.

The industrialization of agriculture means effecting irrigation, electrification, mechanization and a wide application of chemicals in the rural economy and developing agricultural production into a modern technical process. When agriculture is industrialized, we shall be able to develop it into a large-scale economy based on modern machinery and thus increase agricultural production rapidly, obliterate the distinctions between agricultural and industrial labour and free the farmers from backbreaking work.

Since the irrigation and electrification of agriculture have already been effected, we must consolidate the success and, at the same time, mass-produce different kinds of modern farm machinery including tractors and harvesters and supply them to country areas in a planned manner. We must also produce and supply to the rural communities greater quantities of various kinds of high-quality fertilizers and agricultural chemicals which suit our soil conditions and the characteristics of our crops, and work hard to adopt advanced farming technology and methods along with the latest achievements of agricultural science in order to put farm production on a highly scientific basis.

In order to transform cooperative property into all-

people property, we must combine the two organically by continuing to enhance the leading role of the latter in relation to the former.

An important task in their organic combination is to strengthen the direct production ties between the two. These ties are established through state enterprises which serve agriculture directly. We must further strengthen the material and technical means of the farm machine stations, irrigation administration offices and other state enterprises which serve agriculture and thus steadily enhance the role played by the material and technical means of all-people property in the agricultural production of cooperative farms.

Another important task in transforming cooperative property into all-people property is to improve constantly the direction and management of cooperative agriculture.

Economic management is closely related to ownership, and it has a great effect on the change and development of ownership. Unless the direction and management of the agricultural cooperative economy are improved, we shall be unable to speed up the process of transforming cooperative property into all-people property. Today because the level of technical equipment of the agricultural cooperative economy is rising, and because farm production is becoming modernized with the passage of time, we are required to improve the technical guidance of agricultural production and to plan and organize all the managing activities thoroughly.

We must strengthen further the agricultural leadership bodies and enhance their functions and role in order to give full play to the superiority of the Juche-oriented system of agricultural guidance, thereby radically improving the industrial method of guiding cooperative agriculture. We must

enhance particularly the role of county cooperative farm management committees which are directly in charge of guiding local cooperative farms so that their technical guidance will be effective enough to carry on agricultural production as required by the Juche farming method and so that the material and technical assistance by the state to the cooperative economy will be offered satisfactorily.

When cooperative property is converted into all-people property as a result of the thorough implementation of the theses on the socialist rural question put forward by our Party, the class differences between workers and farmers will disappear and, therefore, all social relations will become reorganized completely into those of the working class.

3

Comrades,

Pressing ahead with socialist economic construction is an important task in achieving the complete victory of socialism.

Socialist economic construction is a worthwhile effort to harness nature and create conditions for the independent and creative life of the people; it is also a sacred undertaking to strengthen the material and technical foundations of socialism and capture the material fortress of communism. Successful economic construction is essential for the accomplishment of the building of socialism and communism and for providing the masses with complete Chajusong.

The socialist system which is established through the

socialist revolution, can only be steadily consolidated and developed, demonstrating its superiority and might to the full, when it is based on the material and technical foundations which are commensurate with it. The socialist system can only become really strong and durable and the complete victory of socialism be attained when, through efficient economic construction, the solid material and technical foundations of socialism are laid and when all the working people, freed from exploitation and oppression, fully enjoy an independent political and ideological life and a prosperous material and cultural life. Countries like ours, which had not passed through an industrial revolution and so carried out the socialist revolution in a backward economic situation, must devote particular efforts to economic construction after the establishment of a socialist system.

Pressing ahead with economic construction is an important function of a socialist state. The function of a socialist state as the organizer of the economy comes to the fore as the building of socialism and communism makes progress.

Whether or not the complete victory of socialism is achieved at an early date, as required by our revolutionary development and as desired by our people, depends largely on how economic construction is carried out.

We must create powerful material and technical foundations commensurate with a complete socialist society by stepping up socialist economic construction.

The goal we must attain in the sphere of economic construction for the complete victory of socialism is to build a Juche-oriented national economy which is highly modernized in all its branches and perfect in its structure. We must industrialize agriculture and raise the level of all the technical equipment of the national economy to a considerable extent

and thus free the working people from difficult and labour-consuming work and solve the problems of food, clothing and housing for the people satisfactorily so as to attain high standards.

In order to reach this goal, the Government of the Republic must continue to adhere to the line of building an independent socialist national economy and promote the Juche-orientation, modernization and scientization of the national economy more energetically.

The immediate important task in socialist economic construction is to implement the Third Seven-Year Plan successfully.

Next year we shall undertake this plan.

The basic task of the Third Seven-Year Plan is to continue to press ahead with the Juche-orientation, modernization and scientization of the national economy and lay solid material and technical foundations for the complete victory of socialism.

During this plan period we must strengthen the independence of the national economy still further, provide industry, agriculture and all other branches of the national economy with powerful modern technical equipment and increase production quickly. We must attain the ten long-term objectives of socialist economic construction put forward by the Sixth Congress of the Party and increase the total industrial output at least by 1.9 times and agricultural output by 1.4 times.

The Third Seven-Year Plan is a magnificent plan of economic construction which will increase the nation's economic power and improve the people's living standards radically; it is a great goal which will bring about a decisive turn in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

All the officials and working people must rise to the occasion as one to carry out the Third Seven-Year Plan and bring about a fresh upsurge in socialist economic construction.

The most important task in implementing this plan is to accelerate the technical renovation of the national economy by developing science and technology and intensifying the technical innovation drive.

Today science and technology are developing very rapidly and they are playing a decisive role in economic progress. There is no limit to their development as they are the product of man's ingenuity; they give man unlimited possibilities to harness nature and dominate the world. Achieving rapid growth in production on the basis of highly developed science and technology is the main trend of the world's economic progress at present.

The present situation of our socialist construction requires all the more urgently the rapid development of science and technology. Without this and without enterprising technical innovations it will be impossible to carry out the gigantic tasks of the new long-term plan and raise our economy onto a new, higher stage.

We must direct great effort to the development of science and technology and thus solve smoothly various scientific and technological problems arising in socialist construction and raise our level of science and technology to the world's standard as soon as possible.

We must work out a correct plan for the development of science and technology in conformity with the long-term objectives and present requirements of our socialist construction, and with the world's trend of scientific and tech-

nological progress, and carry it out by mobilizing the creativity of our scientists, technicians and wide sections of the working people in every way. Senior officials must have a correct attitude to science and technology and radically improve the Party and state guidance of scientific research work and the technical innovation movement as well as making provision for this work.

The important target of our scientific and technological progress for the present is to effect an all-round technical renovation of the national economy. All branches of the national economy must modernize the outdated and backward equipment and mechanize and automate production processes and introduce robots and computers. During the new long-term plan we must devote great effort to the development of the machine-building, ultraminiature electronic and robot industries. In this way we will lay solid production bases for these industries in a short time and produce various kinds of up-to-date machinery and electronic and automation elements and components which are needed for the technical renovation of the national economy.

If we are to succeed in the Third Seven-Year Plan, we will have to increase the production capacities of our key industries sharply.

The Third Seven-Year Plan is an ambitious plan which envisages a high rate of production growth. The major targets of the key industries specified in the new long-term plan include electricity, coal, steel and nonferrous metals. They are high targets which can only be attained when we increase the production capacities much more than now. It is only when these targets are achieved that all branches of the national economy will succeed in implementing the long-term plan.

During the new long-term plan the key industries must

renew their existing equipment by introducing more efficient and precise modern equipment, increase their production capacities to the full, and build new, modern factories and enterprises on a large scale.

A tangible improvement in the people's standard of living is one of the most important tasks which we must fulfil during the Third Seven-Year Plan. We must solve the problems of food, clothing and housing satisfactorily and raise the general living standard.

In accordance with our Party's far-reaching plan and under its direction a number of major projects are now forging ahead, among them are the projects to reclaim 300,000 hectares of tidal flats and build the Sunchon Vinalon Complex with a capacity of 100,000 tons and the large Sariwon Potassic Fertilizer Complex. They are a daring blueprint to increase the country's economic power and solve, in particular, the problems of food, clothing and housing smoothly; they are very important and worthwhile undertakings for our people's happy future.

We must concentrate all our efforts on these projects and finish them quickly. The soldiers of the People's Army and the builders who are working on these projects must display all their devotion and creativity in their worthwhile work for the country's prosperity and the people's well-being. Different branches of the national economy must supply the equipment and materials needed for the projects in time and on a preferential basis, and the entire Party, the whole country and all the people must give their powerful support to these projects.

If we are to succeed in the Third Seven-Year Plan, we must radically improve the guidance of the economy and the management of enterprises.

In economic guidance and enterprise management we must firmly defend and adhere to the original Juche system of socialist economic management created by our Party, and implement it thoroughly so that its vitality will be displayed fully in socialist construction.

All branches of the national economy must implement the Taean work system strictly. All factories and enterprises must organize economic work under the collective leadership of the Party committee as required by the Taean work system, and must give precedence to political work so as to give rein to the revolutionary zeal and creativity of the producers for the implementation of the long-term plan.

Economic guidance and enterprise management should be put on a scientific basis and rationalized as required by the actual situation of our socialist construction.

The socialist economy continues to develop and the new situation of economic progress requires that guidance of the economy and the management of enterprises should be improved in step with it. All sectors of the national economy must conduct management activity in a scientific way based on accurate plans, calculations and statistics, and must rationalize enterprise management by making proper use of the economic levers to suit the transitional character of the socialist society.

All the officials and working people must carry out the Third Seven-Year Plan with credit by working devotedly with infinite loyalty to the Party and the revolution and with great revolutionary zeal, and thus demonstrate the might of Juche Korea and exalt its honour once more.

4

Comrades,

In order to achieve the complete victory of socialism we must strengthen the people's government and enhance its functions and role.

The people's government is a veritable champion of our people's rights to independence and a powerful weapon for the building of socialism and communism. Only under the people's government can the working masses use genuine freedom to the full and exercise all their rights as masters of the state and society, enjoy a happy, affluent life to their hearts' content and succeed in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism. This is a difficult and complicated struggle to transform people, society and nature and it is accompanied by a continuous class struggle. Only by strengthening the people's government and enhancing its functions and role, is it possible to rally the broad masses solidly into a political force, mobilize their creative power effectively in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism and defend the socialist system firmly.

We must improve the work of the people's government organs and enhance their functions and role in every way in the struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

The Government of the Republic must continue to advance under the banner of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions and carry out the Party's line of the three revolutions.

The struggle for the complete victory of socialism is a far-reaching and great social transformation aimed at eliminating those legacies of the old society which still remain in the socialist society and at imbuing the whole of society with the ideology, technology and culture of the working class. It can be carried out successfully only through the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions. The three revolutions are the highest stage of accomplishing the building of socialism and communism and providing the masses with complete Chajusong. We must enhance the functions and role of the people's government and carry out the three revolutions. This is the way to accomplish the cause of Chajusong for the people, the cause of building socialism and communism. The banner of the people's government and of the three revolutions is immediately the banner of Chajusong, the banner of socialism and communism.

The organs of the people's government must hold fast to the line of the ideological, technical and cultural revolutions, and vigorously carry them out under the leadership of the Party. As executors of the Party's line on the three revolutions, these government organs must concentrate all their activities on the successful implementation of the three revolutions and deal efficiently with administrative and organizational affairs and with the provision of material and technical needs in keeping with the high degree of enthusiasm of the working people who have turned out to implement the three revolutions.

The Government of the Republic and other government organs at all levels must thoroughly implement the class and mass line in their activity.

The people's government is, in essence, the revolutionary government of the working class. It is only when they car-

ry out the class line in their activity that the people's government organs can preserve their working-class character and fulfil their honourable mission as the revolutionary government of the working class.

In all spheres of state activity they must steadily enhance the leading role of the working class, adhere firmly to the working-class principle and carry out all the policies in the interests of the working class. They must ensure that all state and social lives are geared to the aspiration and desire of the working class and that a sound working-class habit of life prevails throughout the society. The people's government must guard against the poisonous ideas of capitalism and revisionism and prevent them from infiltrating into our society and resolutely fight against all attempts to infringe upon the socialist system.

The socialist and communist society is a society for all the people. It can only be built by the creative role of the broad masses of the people. In order to build the socialist and communist society successfully, we must champion the interests of the people in every way and mobilize their creative power to the full. To this end, the people's government must implement the revolutionary mass line in its activity.

Defending the interests of the people and serving them faithfully is the fundamental requirement of the mass line. Our officials must not be bureaucrats who shout at the people and lord it over them; they must truly serve the people and work honestly for them. The officials of the people's government organs must organize and conduct all their work on the principle of regarding the interests of the people as most important and championing them thoroughly. They must guarantee their rights and interests in all fields of social life as provided by the law. They must always be deeply concerned

for the people's life, break bottlenecks for the people, meet their needs in time and work hard to provide conditions to make their life happier.

The people's government must establish a revolutionary system and order in the state and social life and supervise and run the economic life of the country in a coordinated way.

It is a natural requirement of a socialist society, an organized society, that the revolutionary system and order are established in all spheres of the state and social life and that all members of society observe discipline and order. If the revolutionary system and order are not established in a socialist society, the people cannot take an organized, joint action smoothly and, worse still, social disorder and undesirable practices may occur.

In order to establish the revolutionary system and order in our society it is necessary to strengthen the socialist law-abiding life.

Laws in socialist society are the code of conduct which is binding on all its members, as well as a basic means with which the people's government administers the affairs of state. By strengthening the socialist law-abiding life, the people's government must establish a revolutionary atmosphere of observing laws in the whole of society and encourage all working people to abide by the laws of the Republic honestly.

It is very important to tighten state administrative discipline when establishing the revolutionary system and order in society. The people's government organs must establish a well-regulated work system by which to supervise and direct all state and social life in a unified way and build up strict discipline under which all sectors and units accept the decisions and instructions of the Party and state uncondition-

ally, and implement them thoroughly. By organizing state and social activities better, they must ensure that all the officials and working people observe established discipline and order and must increase the social spirit of organization and discipline further in step with the development of the revolution and construction onto a higher stage.

To effect the unified supervision and operation of every aspect of national life is an important task of the people's government. It enables the people's government to mobilize and make a rational use of all resources and potential, to plan and propel the building of the economy and the improvement of the people's living standards.

The people's government must keep all the manpower and natural resources under unified control and organize production and distribution, accumulation and consumption in a rational manner. The government organs at all levels must coordinate economic construction, the development of culture and services for the people in the districts and units in their charge and must organize and guide them carefully to suit the needs of the state and in the interests of the people.

Our Party and people have placed high confidence in the people's government officials and entrusted them with heavy responsibility. These officials must work in a responsible manner, with an attitude befitting masters, so as to prove themselves worthy of the deep trust and great expectations of the Party and people. All the officials must carry out their revolutionary tasks with a high sense of responsibility, with ardent loyalty to the Party and revolution and with a sense of devotion to the people and thus fulfil their honourable mission as leaders of the revolution and faithful servants of the people.

5

Comrades,

The most urgent national task for the Government of the Republic is to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

The question of reunifying our country is very important in that it affects the destiny of the Korean nation. Unless the country is reunified, the whole nation cannot avoid the sufferings and disasters caused by national division, while the coordinated development of the country and the prosperity of the nation are impossible. National reunification is the unanimous desire of our people who have lived as one nation for ages. On the Korean peninsula the danger of the country's permanent division and of a new war is increasing daily. This situation makes the settling of the question of national reunification very urgent.

We must make every effort to bring about an early reunification to meet the desire of the nation and the requirements of the prevailing situation.

In order to settle the question of national reunification, the Government of our Republic is firmly maintaining the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. These are the fundamental principles of national reunification which our Government has consistently maintained; they are the nation's common principles of reunification which represent the will of all Koreans. These three principles alone can ensure that the country

is reunified independently and peacefully on a democratic principle, free from any foreign interference.

At present, the first and foremost task in reunifying the country independently and peacefully is to ease tension to ensure a durable peace on the Korean peninsula, and to create favourable conditions for peaceful reunification.

The Government of the Republic has made every effort to reduce tension and create the prerequisites for an independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

Early in 1984, we proposed holding tripartite talks between the DPRK, the United States and south Korea in order to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement and adopt a nonaggression declaration between the north and the south, as a fundamental step towards peace on the Korean peninsula. This was followed by a number of our initiatives for various north-south talks, which resulted in the arrangement of venues for broad contacts and dialogues between the north and the south. Early this year, we refrained, on our own initiative, from conducting military exercises in order to ease tension, and made new proposals for talks between the military authorities and for converting the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

But the United States and the south Korean authorities have disregarded our peaceful efforts, and are continuing to follow a line of confrontation and war, thereby further aggravating the tension.

In south Korea, anti-communist clamours against our Republic are now being made on an unprecedentedly large scale, with a result that the political confrontation between north and south has reached an extreme.

Not satisfied with the many slanders they have made against us, the south Korean authorities are now inventing preposterous lies in order to stimulate the distrust and hostility of the south Korean people towards us.

The south Korean authorities are ruthlessly suppressing the south Korean youths, students and other people who are fighting for independence against the United States, on the pretext of their being connected with us. Their struggle is entering a new stage under the banner of anti-US independence, and it is dealing a heavy blow at US colonial rule. The anti-US struggle of the south Korean youths, students and other people is a just, patriotic struggle for national sovereignty in south Korea and for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country. The attempt to link their struggle with us is a perversity which can convince no one; and their suppression on the charge of "tolerating communism" is an act against the people and the nation, an act which is being perpetrated under an anti-communist slogan.

Anti-communism is an ideological weapon of the imperialists which they use to invade other countries, and divide and rule them. If one is immersed in anti-communism, one will lose Juche and will be unable to distinguish between the patriotic and the traitorous, and to defend the nation's Chajusong and interests. Anti-communism is an idea of confrontation and division; it is opposed to the nation's solidarity, unity and peace; it is an idea of war. It is by no means accidental that even in the "national assembly" of south Korea the validity of the "government policy against communism" is now being questioned and that the voice is being raised for a "government policy for reunification".

On the Korean peninsula the military tension is now increasing.

Recently the United States put special emphasis on the military-strategic position of south Korea, it sharply increased its armed forces there, brought in a large number of nuclear weapons and turned the whole of south Korea into a nuclear base. "Lance" missiles and various other nuclear carriers have been shipped into south Korea one after another in addition to the more than 1,000 nuclear weapons already deployed there, and large nuclear armouries are being built.

In particular, we cannot overlook the fact that the south Korean authorities and the United States stage the provocative, large-scale joint military exercise "Team Spirit" every year in order to complete their preparations for a nuclear war and fan up a war fever, thereby keeping the front and the rear on the alert at all times. This threatening situation which can only be imagined on the eve of war, shows that they may trigger a war at any minute. This cannot but rouse us to natural vigilance.

The more they step up their war preparations, the louder the south Korean authorities raise a hue and cry against the "threat of southward invasion". Recently they have gone the length of spreading the nonsense that we have worked out a "plan of invading the south" in anticipation of the 1988 Olympic Games and that we are building the Kumgangsan Power Station for the purpose of "attacking them by means of flood".

We have stated more than once that we will not invade the south. This stand which has been officially expressed by the Government of the Republic is guaranteed explicitly by a large number of our peace proposals and its sincerity has already been confirmed by historical facts during the past decades.

As for the construction of the Kumgangsan Power Station, it is, to all intents and purposes, a peaceful project undertaken under the long-term plan for our socialist economic construction. So there is no reason why the south Korean authorities should feel themselves threatened. None of us are so stupid as to make such a large investment in the project simply for the purpose of "attacking them by means of flood" nor do we want to see the south Korean people suffer a disaster. The south Korean authorities should not slander our construction of the power station, but pay due attention to getting those nuclear weapons, which are more than enough to exterminate all the Korean nation, withdrawn from south Korea.

We have never wanted national extermination, nor can we tolerate our territory becoming a theatre of nuclear war provoked by the United States. From this standpoint we declare once again that we have no intention to invade the south and, at the same time, strongly assert that the Korean peninsula be turned as soon as possible into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

This state of sharp confrontation on the Korean peninsula is now rousing the serious apprehension of all the Korean people who crave for national reunification and the people of the world who aspire to peace.

If this sharp confrontation continues as it is, the distrust between the north and the south will grow further and the confrontation will become aggravated with each passing day and result in the outbreak of another war in Korea. A war in Korea would spread into a global thermonuclear war which would throw our nation and mankind into an irretrievable holocaust.

Today when the destiny of all our fellow countrymen is at

stake, no Korean with a conscience can remain indifferent to this brutal fact.

We must overcome the present difficult situation in every way and make a new breakthrough for peace in the country and for independent and peaceful national reunification.

The key to a new breakthrough for national reunification in the present situation is to relax the sharp political confrontation and military tensions at the earliest possible date and to create an atmosphere of sincere trust in the nation.

We think it necessary to hold high-level political and military talks between the north and the south in order to settle the first and most urgent question for national reunification.

The deep distrust between the two sides results mainly from their political and military confrontation. The removal of this distrust and the creation of an atmosphere of trust depend largely on the efforts of those on both sides who have real political and military authority.

The north-south high-level political and military talks will have to discuss measures to remove the present political confrontation, such as promoting the national bonds by refraining from slandering each other and by realizing multilateral cooperation and interchange between the north and the south. They will also have to discuss steps to ease the present tension, such as reducing the armed forces, stopping an arms race, turning the Demilitarized Zone along the Military Demarcation Line into a peace zone and refraining from large-scale military exercises. The talks should also deliberate on measures to increase the authority of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, and to organize a neutral nations inspection force with military personnel from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Switzerland and

Sweden which are members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, to watch the military actions of both sides in the Demilitarized Zone.

In addition to these questions we are ready to discuss any proposal made by the south Korean side, if it will help to relax the political and military situation.

If the north-south high-level political and military talks are to settle various questions raised by both sides satisfactorily, those with real military authority will also have to take part in the talks, along with high-ranking authorities from both sides.

Our new proposal for these talks is an expression of the idea of national unity and the line of national reunification which the Government of the Republic has consistently maintained; it is another manifestation of our peace efforts. Our new proposal contains the unshakable resolve and will of the Government of the Republic to promote trust and unity among our fellow countrymen by removing distrust and confrontation under any complicated circumstances, to ensure peace on the Korean peninsula by preventing war and, further, to reunify the country peacefully.

If the south Korean authorities truly want to break the present deadlock between north and south and follow us on the road of peace in the country and of its peaceful reunification, they ought to show a positive response to our sincere proposal.

We believe that the north-south high-level political and military talks will be an important turning point in promoting trust between both sides, in opening a new phase for easing the tension and in creating an atmosphere for the dialogue at large.

If the talks produce a good result, the distrust which has

been pent-up between the north and south for decades will be removed, an atmosphere of national reconciliation and unity will be created, and dialogues will be held successfully in many spheres in a good atmosphere.

If all these talks succeed, top-level talks between north and south may be held to discuss the fundamental questions for national reunification.

In order to guarantee a durable peace in our country and create the prerequisite for peaceful reunification, the tripartite talks should be held between the DPRK, the United States and south Korea.

The conclusion of a peace agreement between the DPRK and the United States and the adoption of a nonaggression declaration between north and south are the processes which we have to go through to convert the unstable situation of our country which is in a state of temporary armistice, into a lasting peace. This is a duty which we and the United States and south Korea cannot avoid.

If the United States really wants the peace and reunification of Korea, she must respond to our proposal for the tripartite talks and withdraw her troops and nuclear weapons and all her other military equipment from south Korea.

The most reasonable way to reunify the country independently and peacefully is to found the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo as proposed by the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea.

If we are to prevent our country from being divided into "two Koreas" for ever and ward off a holocaust that threatens the whole nation, we have no alternative but to reunify the country by founding a Confederal Republic which will make neither side the conqueror or the conquered.

Therefore, in the future, too, we will make patient efforts to put this just reunification proposal into effect.

In order to settle the question of national reunification in keeping with the will and desire of the Korean people, we must hold a conference for nationwide dialogue which will represent the will of the people from all walks of life. We consider it reasonable to convene a joint conference of the political parties and other organizations of the north and south for this nationwide dialogue. We will always keep the door of the national dialogue open to all political parties and other organizations in south Korea.

It is the common duty of the entire Korean nation to fight for the reunification of the country. All Korean compatriots in the north and south and abroad must achieve great national unity and join all their efforts in spite of the differences in ideas and systems, and thus accomplish the historic cause of national reunification as soon as possible.

The Korean revolution is a part of the world revolution, and the revolutionary struggle of our people is developing in close connection with the general international situation. In order to accelerate the complete victory of socialism and the accomplishment of the historic cause of national reunification, we must strengthen our solidarity with the international revolutionary forces and create international environments favourable for our revolution.

Independence, friendship and peace are the underlying ideas consistently maintained by the Government of our Republic in its foreign relations. These ideas express the common aspirations of our people and the progressive people of the world to build an independent and peaceful new world of friendship. The Government of the Republic will maintain the ideas of independence, friendship and peace as a steadfast

guideline in its foreign activities and implement them thoroughly.

The Government of the Republic will firmly adhere to Chajusong in its foreign relations.

We will map out foreign policies in conformity with the requirement of the Korean revolution and with the specific conditions of our country and carry them out, and settle all questions arising in international relations in order to meet the desire and requirements of our people. The Government of the Republic will develop its relations with other countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual respect, and resolutely uphold the dignity and sovereignty of our nation in the international arena.

It will make positive efforts to develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with many countries.

Its unswerving policy is to promote the relations of friendship and cooperation with socialist countries. The socialist countries are the strong bastions of the world revolution, and developing friendship, solidarity and cooperation among them is an important guarantee for the victory of the socialist and communist cause. The Government of the Republic will strengthen friendship and solidarity with its fraternal socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and work hard to develop exchanges and cooperation with them in all fields of politics, economy and culture.

The Non-aligned Movement is a mighty anti-imperialist, independent force of our time, which gives a strong impetus to the advance of history. The Government of the Republic will make every effort to further extend and develop state relations with the non-aligned countries and the third world nations, and to realize South-South cooperation.

The Government of the Republic will also establish good-neighbourly relations with those capitalist countries which respect our sovereignty and are friendly towards our country and will promote economic and cultural interchanges with them.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a peace-loving socialist country. Peace is the natural requirement of socialism and the common desire of mankind.

Today all people want peace, but the imperialists' scheme to dominate the world by means of nuclear preponderance has created a tense situation in many parts of the world, a situation in which a nuclear war may break out. This is a threatening challenge to mankind in its cause for peace. Preventing a nuclear war and defending peace is the solemn task of the present day.

With a noble sense of responsibility for the cause of peace, the Government of the Republic will resolutely fight to check and frustrate imperialist moves for aggression and war and to defend peace on the Korean peninsula, in Asia and the rest of the world.

The most important thing in preventing a nuclear war and defending peace at present is to ban nuclear testing, effect nuclear disarmament and abolish nuclear weapons completely. As long as nuclear weapons exist on the globe, the danger of a nuclear war will not disappear and mankind will not be able to avoid the nuclear threat. The Government of the Republic, in cooperation with all peace-loving countries, will fight staunchly to prohibit the testing, production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons, to prevent the militarization of space, to reduce the different kinds of nuclear weapons and, further, to abolish all nuclear weapons completely.

To create nuclear-free, peace zones and expand them is an important way to effect nuclear disarmament, prevent a nuclear war and preserve peace.

The Korean peninsula is fraught with the greatest danger of nuclear war in the world. To ensure peace and security in this part of the world, therefore, is very important for improving the situation in Asia and the Pacific region and for easing general international tension. The Government of the Republic will make every effort to get the nuclear weapons withdrawn from south Korea and to make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free, peace zone.

The Government of the Republic fully supports all the peaceful proposals made by the socialist countries in order to prevent a nuclear war and preserve world peace and security, and highly appraises their sincere efforts to implement them. We give full support to the European socialist countries and the people in this region in their struggle to create nuclear-free, peace zones in the Balkan Peninsula and in many other parts of Europe and express our firm solidarity with the peace-loving people throughout the world in their struggle to create nuclear-free, peace zones in Africa, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific Ocean and many other parts of the world.

The Government of the Republic fully supports the just cause of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and all other parts of the world, who are fighting for peace and democracy, and national independence and for the building of a new society in opposition to the imperialist moves for aggression and war. It expresses firm solidarity with the ever-increasing anti-war, anti-nuclear peace movement in vast areas of the world.

Under the banner of independence, friendship and peace,

the Government of the DPRK will resolutely fight to build a peaceful and prosperous new world which is free from imperialism and war, in firm unity with the socialist countries, the non-aligned nations and all the peace forces throughout the world.

Comrades,

Today our people, with unshakable confidence, are firmly resolved to win the complete victory of socialism and accomplish the historic cause of national reunification as soon as possible by pressing ahead with the revolution and construction.

The might of our people who are armed firmly with the Juche idea and rally closely behind the Party is invincible, and the future of our people who have seized state power into their hands and are working for the just, revolutionary cause is bright.

Let all of us fight on, firmly rallied behind our Party and the Government of the Republic under the revolutionary banner of the Juche idea, to accelerate the complete victory of socialism and the independent, peaceful reunification of the country.